

REVIEW OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

HEARING
BEFORE A
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE
EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION
ON
PROPOSALS TO AMEND OR OTHERWISE MODIFY EXISTING
INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY ORGANIZATIONS,
INCLUDING THE UNITED NATIONS

PART 3

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If there is anyone here who wanted to be heard or file a statement, I would be glad to have them bring them up, and it will facilitate our work for this afternoon session.

I might say that two of my associates have to leave in the latter part of the afternoon, and I will be here conducting the meeting alone and try to finish up the entire job.

If any of you have statements that you want to file, instead of being heard in the few moments that will be allotted to you, it will facilitate the hearing, and your statements will be printed in full in the record.

Thank you very much.

Now, Mr. Kaub, we will be glad to hear from you.

STATEMENT OF VERNE P. KAUB, MADISON, WIS.

Mr. KAUT. It is my studied opinion, based upon what I know of the words and deeds of others of like mind as well as upon my own thinking, that Bible-believing American Christians must oppose all moves in the direction of world government, these including proposals to limit or abandon the veto power in United Nations and other measures designed to give United Nations authority over the lives and destinies of people of all nations.

SAFEGUARDING AMERICA'S HERITAGE OF FREEDOM

The purported objectives of United Nations, insofar as they relate to extension of human rights, safe from war or threat of war, are fine and noble, and have the approval of all Christians. But United Nations seek to bring about this worldwide Utopia through enforceable agreements about trade rights, national boundaries, and atom bombs. All this is folly. Agreements mean nothing to dictators and politicians who know no God.

Even more important, freedom is not a material thing, and it cannot be attained by manipulation of material things. Freedom is a spiritual concept, and is attainable here on earth only if and when man-made laws are brought into harmony with God's laws.

I love America not so much because our Nation is the richest and most powerful in the world, but because it is the land of freedom. Our Nation is at once the greatest and freest nation because it was founded on Christian principles. The American heritage of freedom is the hope of the world only because it is a Christian heritage. This is a modern statement of the greatest of truths: From the beginning of time Christ has been the hope of the world.

When Thomas Jefferson penned the Declaration of Independence it was the first time in history that man had written into a political document cardinal principles of the Christian faith, the importance and dignity of individual, and the equality of men before the law and in the sight of their Creator. Later, the Founders wrote the Constitution to be the enabling document and give reality to the Christian concept of human freedom.

The founders, writing the Constitution, cast aside every shred of the Old World's cringing adherence to statism, accepting without reservations the Christian concept of sovereignty of the individual.

Every other nation has had this same opportunity to pave the way to freedom, but not one has cared or dared to take final leave of materialism and risk all to gain freedom by giving free rein to God's laws.

So, America alone holds the Christian heritage of freedom, which will be finally, utterly lost if it is melted down with the dross of Old World statism, materialism, and atheism. Only if America stands firm as one nation unafraid to lift aloft God's banner of truth and justice, inviting reluctant nations to stand with her, can this Christian heritage be saved for future generations.

FALLACIES OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY

Collective security never was more than a dream, and an evil one at that, really a nightmare. We cannot forget what happened in Korea, what is happening in Indochina, what happened only a few years ago under the same management which set up United Nations, when the pretentiously free nations sold all Central Europe, from Berlin east, into abject slavery.

Representatives of great organizations of Protestant churches will appear—have appeared on similar occasions—to argue for collective security, claiming it can be attained by application of the principles of the universal brotherhood of man. In Christianity there is no universal brotherhood, but only the brotherhood of followers of Christ.

Pretending to speak with the voice of a united Protestantism, the National Council of Churches ceaselessly supports that greatest of facilities, collective security. The real truth is that the National Council has only a partial right to speak for no more than 36 percent of American Protestants, and not even a shadow of right to speak for 64 percent of the Protestants of our Nation.

Complete documentation of this declaration is contained in the leaflet titled, "The National Council Speaks—for Whom?", which is a publication of American Council of Christian Laymen. A copy of this leaflet is submitted to the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States with request that it be made a part of the record of this present hearing.

Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, sir, very much.

(The document referred to is as follows:)

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES SPEAKS—FOR WHOM?

COUNCIL'S OWN STATISTICAL REPORTS SHOW THAT NCC REPRESENTS ONLY 36 PERCENT OF AMERICAN PROTESTANTS

When the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA speaks—and it speaks vigorously and often on a wide variety of subjects, mostly political—it ignores the fact that it has no shadow of right to speak for at least 33 million of the 52 million Protestant church members in America.

Rather, NCC makes it clear, when it speaks, that it wants listeners to believe they are hearing the voice of a united Protestantism.

Spokesmen for NCC have various ways of persuading the public that its pronouncements are worthy of universal respect because of the numerical strength of its constituency.

An example is found in an official NCC press release, bearing the name of Donald C. Belles, the Council's director of public relations and editor of "Na-

tional Council Outlook." This release was prepared for use at the biennial convention at Denver in December 1952; it states:

"The National Council includes virtually all the major denominations (Southern Baptists and Missouri Synod Lutherans excepted). It embraces 29 constituent or member communions; 143,068 local churches; 122,769 pastors with charges and 33,809,988 members."

Actually, of 20 Lutheran bodies, only 3, with member rolls totaling 2,400,810, are NCC affiliates; 17 nonaffiliated bodies have 3,387,344 members. Thus, less than 40 percent of American Lutherans are members of NCC affiliates.

Among Baptist churches, 3 of the larger conventions and 1 of the smallest, with a total of 8,074,155 members, are NCC affiliates. Eighteen nonaffiliated groups have 8,307,700 members. Only slightly more than 51 percent of American Baptists can be called NCC affiliates.

When examining NCC's claim that it embraces 33,809,988 members, a first step must be recognition that this number includes 304,500 communicants of Eastern Orthodox churches which are not Protestant.³ Subtracting this number, we find that NCC claims to represent 33,245,488 Protestants.

The accompanying tabulation (on inside pages of this leaflet) is adapted from a tabulation appearing in the NCC publication, "Information Service," for September 6, 1952. The NCC tabulation includes only church bodies of 50,000 or more members each.

To be perfectly fair to NCC, the adapted tabulation include five NCC affiliates which have less than this number of members. Names of these smaller denominations are designated with a preceding asterisk (*). Membership counts for these groups are taken from *Handbook of Denominations in the United States* by Frank S. Mead, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press (the Methodist Publishing House), 1951.

For purposes of this presentation, member counts for bodies not affiliated with NCC are placed in column 1, and affiliates in column 2.

CLAIM NOT SUBSTANTIATED

Total membership count for NCC affiliates, appearing at bottom of column 2, is 30,725,037, a number 2,520,451 short of the NCC claimed total of 33,245,488 Protestant members. Much more important discrepancies will appear as this presentation develops. (Affiliates are 58.9 percent of the total.)

Membership counts of named nonaffiliates, appearing in column 1, total 17,935,097. However, this number is only a subtotal. To find the true total of Protestants who are members of nonaffiliates, the number 3,502,298 must be added to this subtotal, bringing the total of nonaffiliates to 21,437,395. The added number, 3,502,298, represents members of smaller nonaffiliated denominations.⁴

With nonaffiliates numbering 21,437,395, and NCC affiliates totalling 30,725,037, it is clear that NCC has no shadow of claim to authority as representative or spokesman for 41 percent of American Protestants.

As the next step toward determining the validity of NCC's claims of speaking for American Protestantism, members of affiliates are separated into two classifications. Member counts placed in column 3 are of church bodies having congregational polity; in column 4 are placed membership counts of church bodies with corporate structure and Presbyterian, Methodistic, or Episcopal polity.

³ Eastern Orthodox Churches affiliated with NCC, and their membership counts, are: Romanian Orthodox Church, 50,000; Russian Orthodox Church in North America, 400,000; Syrian Orthodox Church, 75,000; and Ukrainian Orthodox Church, 39,500. Member counts for the first three named are from a statistical table appearing in the NCC publication, *Information Service*, for September 6, 1952. This tabulation includes only member counts for denominations of 50,000 or more members each. The membership figure for the Ukrainian Church is from *Handbook of Denominations*.

All membership figures in the *Information Service* tabulation are from *Yearbook of American Churches*, 1952, a publication of the NCC, edited by Benson T. Landis, associate executive director of the Central Department of Research and Survey.

⁴ As indicated in the accompanying (adapted) tabulation, the figure 3,502,298 represents the number of Protestants who are members of other Protestant bodies not NCC affiliates, these being denominations of less than 50,000 members. This figure was arrived at by adding the subtotal in column 1, or 17,935,097, to the total of NCC affiliate members, and subtracting this total from the total number of Protestant Church members in the Nation, given as 32,162,432, in the same issue of *Information Service* in which the tabulation appears. A proving or checking addition appears at bottom of column 2.

Protestant Church membership in the United States—Continued

(Tabulation below is adapted from tabulation in Information Service, official publication of National Council of Churches, for Sept. 6, 1952, showing membership in all religious bodies of 50,000 or more members each)

	Nonaffiliates of National Council of Churches	Affiliates of National Council of Churches of Christ		
		Column 1	Congregational in Polity	Episcopal or Presbyterian in Polity
			Column 2	Column 3
Seventh Day Adventists	245,974			
Assemblies of God	315,478			
Baptist bodies:				
American Baptist Convention		1,354,304		
Southern Baptist Convention	7,373,498			
National Baptist Convention of United States of America, Int.		4,467,779		
National Baptist Convention of America		2,643,739		
American Baptist Association	296,891			
Free Will Baptists	400,000			
General Baptists	50,487			
National Baptist Evangelical Life and Soul Saving Assembly	57,674			
National Primitive Baptist Convention of United States of America	78,000			
Primitive Baptists	72,000			
Seventh Day Baptists		6,363		
United Adherents Free Will Baptist Church	78,340			
(Subtotals, Baptist bodies)	(4,392,700)	(8,674,365)	(6,674,158)	
Church of the Brethren		186,358	186,358	
Christ Unity Science Church	212,172			
Christian and Missionary Alliance	68,933			
Churches of God:				
Apostolic Overcomming Holy Church of God	15,000			
Church of God (Cleveland, Tenn.)	121,706			
Church of God (Anderson, Ind.)	100,814			
The Church of God	84,360			
Church of God in Christ	323,305			
(Subtotal, Churches of God)	(676,385)			
Churches of the Nazarene	225,679			
Churches of Christ	1,000,000			
Congregational Christian Churches		1,241,477	1,241,477	
Disciples of Christ		1,792,985	1,792,985	
Evangelical and Reformed Church		733,941	733,941	
Evangelical United Brethren		720,544	720,544	
Federated Churches	88,411			
Friends:				
Religious Society of Friends (3 Years Meeting)		68,613		
Friends of Philadelphia and Vicinity		19,018		
(Subtotal, Friends)		(87,631)		(87,631)
Independent Fundamental Churches of Amer- ica	64,000			
International Church of the Four-Square Gospel	64,109			
Latter Day Saints (Mormons):				
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints	1,111,314			
Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints	126,453			
(Subtotal, Latter Day Saints)	(1,237,767)			
Lutheran:				
American Lutheran Conference:				
American Lutheran Church	715,640			
Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church		465,082		
Evangelical Lutheran Church	825,465			
Lutheran Free Church	50,800			
*Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church		19,048		

See footnotes at end of table.

Protestant Church membership in the United States—Continued

(Tabulation below is adapted from tabulation in Information Service, official publication of National Council of Churches, for Sept. 8, 1952, showing membership in all religious bodies of 50,000 or more members each.)

	Nonaffiliates of National Council of Churches Column 1	Affiliates of National Council of Churches of Christ		
		Conven- tional In- polity Column 2	Episcopal or Presbyterian In polity Column 3	Episcopal or Presbyterian In polity Column 4
Lutheran—Continued				
Lutheran Synodical Conference of NA:				
Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod	1,674,901			
Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Wisconsin and other States	311,477			
United Lutheran Church in America		1,925,506		
(Subtotals, Lutheran bodies).....	(3,907,378)	(2,409,617)		(2,409,617)
Mennonite Church.....	58,330			
Methodist bodies:				
African Methodist Episcopal Church		1,166,301		
African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church		729,150		
Colored Methodist Episcopal Church		362,152		
The Methodist Church		9,063,727		
(Subtotal, Methodist bodies).....		(11,332,383)		(11,332,383)
Pentecostal assemblies:				
Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, Inc.	50,000			
United Pentecostal Church	100,000			
(Subtotal, Pentecostal assemblies).....	(150,000)			
Polish National Catholic Church.....	265,879			
Presbyterian bodies:				
Cumberland Presbyterian Church	81,086			
Presbyterian Church in the United States		702,205		
Presbyterian Church in the United States of America		2,364,112		
United Presbyterian Church of NA		219,027		
(Subtotals, Presbyterian bodies).....	(81,086)	(3,284,405)		(3,284,405)
Reformed bodies:				
Christian Reformed Church	154,310			
Reformed Church in America		187,256		187,256
Salvation Army	227,821			
Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America	51,450			
International General Assembly of Spiritualists	350,000			
Unitarian Churches	79,901			
Universalist Church of America	63,975			
*Moravian Church (North and South Pro- vinces)		46,327		46,327
*Evangelical Unity, Czech Moravian Brethren in NA		5,000		5,000
(Subtotal, members of nonaffiliates)	(17,935,097)			
Members of other Protestant bodies not Na- tional Council of Churches affiliates.....	43,502,295			
	21,417,395	30,725,017	11,404,973	18,831,082
		(21,417,395)		(11,404,973)
		† 34,162,452		† 30,725,037

* Five Protestant denominations affiliated with National Council of Churches have less than 50,000 members each, and are added to the table as published in Information Service described in caption above. These membership statistics are from Handbook of Denominations in the United States, by Frank S. Mead, Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1951.

† This number is found by subtracting from the total of Protestant Church membership the sum of members of National Council of Churches affiliates and the subtotal of members of nonaffiliated denominations with 50,000 or more members each.

‡ This addition is made to prove correctness of classification of communicants as members of National Council of Churches affiliates and nonaffiliates.

§ This addition is made to prove correctness of classification of members of National Council of Churches affiliates as communicants of churches with congregational polity and of churches with Episcopal or Presbyterian polity.

Admittedly, corporate church bodies have ecclesiastical authority over their local churches, and hence have at least some right to speak for the members, or, by joining some such federation as NCC, may transfer to that body the authority to speak for individual members.

This situation does not and cannot apply in the case of church bodies with congregational polity. For example, each and every local Congregational Christian Church is a complete, wholly autonomous ecclesiastical unit.

Local churches of the Congregational Christian fellowship federate in area associations, state or regional conferences, and, on the highest level, the General Conference. But neither association, conference, nor the General Council has ecclesiastical or other authority over local churches, and hence no authority whatever to speak for churches or members.

An illusive and tenuous affiliation of Congregational Christian Churches with NCC results from the fact that the General Council has joined NCC.

VOICE LACKS AUTHORITY

But since the General Council has no power or authority to speak for churches or members of the fellowship, it cannot transfer any such authority to the National Council or any other body.

Exactly this same situation as to congregational polity exists also among the churches of the Baptist group, Church of the Brethren, and International Convention of Disciples of Christ.¹

Membership of these (pretended) NCC affiliates totals 11,894,975, which is the figure at bottom of Column 3 of our adapted tabulation.

When member counts of these noncorporate, congregational churches were placed in column 3, there remained for placing in column 4 only membership counts of NCC Protestant affiliates totaling 18,830,002. This is the number of Protestant church members for whom NCC can claim some right to speak. This number is a far cry, indeed, from the NCC claim of right to speak for more than 33 million church members.

Sum of the total of member counts of nonaffiliates of NCC, 21,437,305, and the membership counts of pretended affiliates in churches of congregational polity, 11,894,975, is 33,332,370, which is the number of Protestant Church members for whom NCC has no right to speak. The number is 64 percent of the number of Protestants in the Nation, according to NCC's statistics.²

Moreover, NCC speaks for the remaining 36 percent of American Protestant church members only over loudly voiced protests of many of the men and women in this minority.

From hundreds of pulpits of churches rebellious declarations are heard. The brave preachers in these pulpits are of every affiliated denomination. Some of them have begun the publication of periodicals of protest. Others have dared to join, as individuals, the National Association of Evangelicals, which is openly anti-NCC. Organizations of laymen are formed or forming in many of the denominations, and interdenominational organizations are adding their protests.

Even within NCC's own organization, rebellion raises its voice. A laymen's committee organized to sponsor the constituting convention at Cleveland in the late fall of 1950 refused to disband, as was desired and directed by the ruling hierarchy, but continued its opposition to leftist pronouncements of the Council, and gained recognition of United Church Men, an NCC department.

The National Council of Churches speaks for only a minority of American Protestants, and even within this minority both groups and individuals voice loud and vehement opposition to the Council's political pronouncements.

The CHAIRMAN. We will now call Mr. John Fritschler, lawyer, of Milwaukee.

Glad to have you, sir.

Mr. FRITSCHLER. Thank you, sir.

¹The book, *Handbook of Denominations*, is one authority for statements in this paragraph. On p. 64 of this book will be found official statement of the General Council of Congregational Christian Churches relative to effects of congregational polity as it applies to that fellowship.

²The percentage would be slightly larger if the NCC count of Protestants were correct; the NCC total, 52,162,432, does not include either Jehovah's Witnesses or Church of Christ, Scientist, a total of not less than a million. Neither of these groups will report the number of their members.